1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

285 rib, and amount to a neat and ingenious way of disposing of the tag ends. Equally neat and ingenious is the suggestion made in an early *Annual Report*. 'Some of them [coco-nut mats] are even provided with appendages near the head of the mat, which is cut square across, resembling sleeves in outline. This is for the arms to rest on.'[1] The Orokaiva, 285 516 however, does not lie on his back or his belly with a cruci-

FIG. 16. Orokaiva and Waria Patterns of *Kambije* up to 2 ft. long.

form outstretching of the arms; and until this posture has been actually recorded, the above suggestion, like many more weighty ones in anthropology, must remain unsubstantiated.

285 *Leaf Basketry.* There is no genuine basketry among the Orokaiva: the *kambije* hardly deserves the dignity of the name. It is made on the same principle as the mat *tere*, viz. by splitting part of a coco-nut frond down the midrib and by weaving the leaves together. The two halves of the midrib are now made to constitute the mouth of the bag or basket, which opens or closes like a Gladstone bag. Imported from the river Waria comes a larger and better-made example which has become fashionable on the Gira and the Mambare. In the smaller, which is the usual Orokaiva form, the plaited tag ends of leaflets become appendages to the top of the *kambije*, near its mouth, and are called *tengere* or 'ears' (Bin. *dengoro*). In the Waria style they appear at the bottom of the basket and are called *jimi* or 'tails'.

The Cane Pig Basket (*Kakate*). A kind of litter is devised 286 for carrying pigs on long journeys. The pig is first bound 482 and laid on the ground. Two hoops of cane are fitted over it, to ensure that they are of the right size, and then each hoop is made the frame of a strong rough network of split cane. The two fabrics are finally bound together with the

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 5.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

411 (5) There are other varieties of spears distinguished by minor differences; but one is used for a purpose which is perhaps unique. This is the *dega* or *kam*, which has a spiral of white feathers winding about it from top to bottom. The *dega* is not so much a weapon of offence as a standard meant for display and, as I was assured, the intimidation of the foe. When Sir William MacGregor saw a flotilla of war canoes ascending the river Musa one early morning in the year 1895, he remarked in particular 'two big men, each standing erect in the hull of a fine war canoe, one at each end of the square platform. They were in complete martial panoply, covered by paint and plumes, and each, as he remained in an attitude as stiff and silent as a pillar of stone, held his right hand on a great tall war spear, which he held erect, the lower end resting on the bottom of the canoe. These two spears were nearly covered with white feathers from end to end'. These spears, used by the kindred people of the Musa, were no doubt identical with the *dega* of the Orokaiva, which in these times of peace has been relegated from the hand of the warrior to that of the Taro man.[1]

[114 516]

Wooden 'Swords'. The wooden sword (*asivo*) is a blade-shaped length of black palm-wood usually some 3 feet 6 inches long. The point and edges are not so sharp as to pierce or cut, and the weapon is virtually a club. Being used with two hands, it is much less unwieldy than the stone-headed club, and probably gains in effectiveness by its lightness. The *asivo* is often painted and befeathered.

Woman's Quarterstaff. The woman's quarterstaff (*poreba*) is a long light staff of knotty hard-wood. Every able-bodied woman will keep one just underneath the raised floor of her house, where it is ready for a brawl. She carries it in a characteristic manner, resting on the crown of her head and held on either side in her hands. There is a certain technique in its use, and it is said to be correct, when warding off a blow, to hold the *poreba* simply between thumb and fore-finger, with the fingers extended. Women bear their part in inter-village affrays and are not infrequently guilty of

[1] *Annual Report*, 1895–6, p. 27; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 14. The *Dega* is now frequently affected by Taro men, though I cannot say with what significance.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

534
142
516
291
301

Boy Playing the Pipe, *Hiviro*

PLATE XX [facing p.86]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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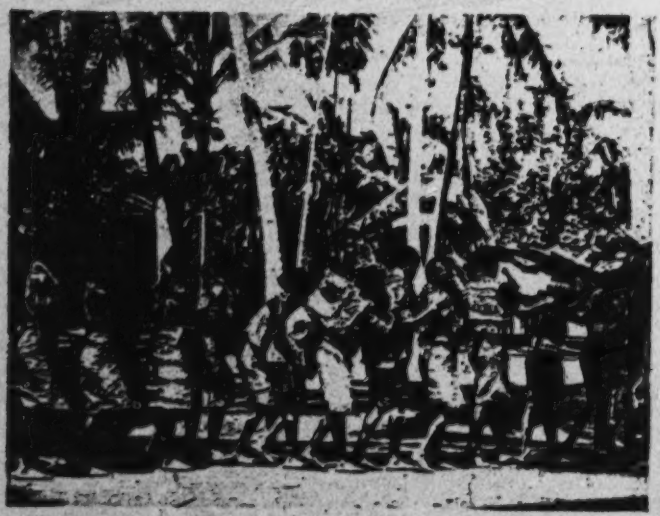
292
516

(*a*) First stage of the *Gorukuri* or Emergence of the Widow from Seclusion



(*b*) Second stage of the *Gorukuri*

PLATE XXIX

[facing p 218]

1:Williams E.G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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292
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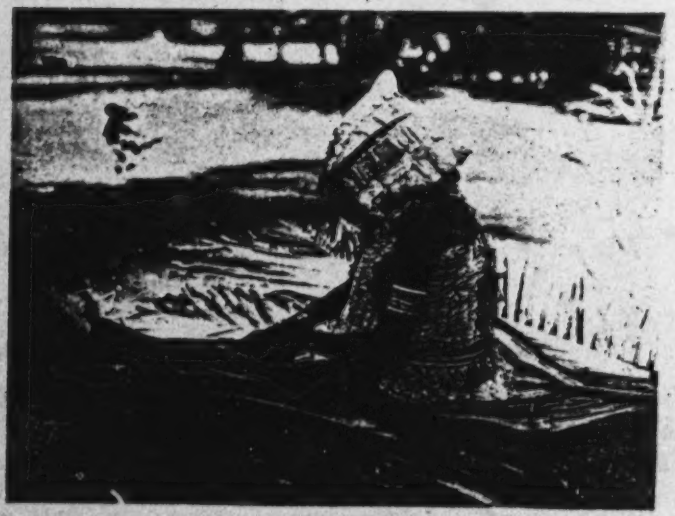
301

(*a*) The Widow sitting among her attendants



(*b*) The Widow, showing *Baja* jacket and *Poha*

PLATE XXX [facing p. 222]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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516

(*a*) The *Jura* Treatment

(*b*) The *Jura* Treatment [facing p. 296]

PLATE XXXVI

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

named Baiho was attacked by fever; he bathed, but his fever continued; then he was seized with *jipari*. He did not understand his plight until a certain *Diroga* man explained it to him. His father Parata had been killed long ago in a raid by hostile neighbours: now the *diroga* of Parata was possessing him. Subsequently Baiho received a dream-visit from his slain father, and was presented with a certain kind of Taro named *Orori*.

Another man witnessing the dancing of a party of *Diroga* men, found himself under the influence of the shaking-fit. It was explained to him that the *diroga* of his slain brother was causing the trouble, an interpretation which a subsequent dream verified beyond question.

Another informant, possessed by the spirit of his father, likewise a true *diroga*, saw the figure of the slain man standing before him with his hands behind his back, just as the corpse of the victim is set upright with its hands bound to a pole behind it. Such instances could be multiplied. The *Diroga* man believes, or professes, with absolute consistency as far as my inquiries go, that he is possessed by the true *diroga* or spirit of a slain man.

One or two of their peculiar mannerisms may find explanation in the conception of the *diroga* itself. It used to be their habit to strike postures, looking up into the sky or into the tree-tops. This was where they hoped or pretended to see the *diroga*, who always fly overhead. A recruiter informed me that the thrusting and jabbing with spears was directed at the spirits, which may be so, though I have no verification. One characteristic gesture of the *Diroga* man is a sideways jerk of the head such as a bather makes when he wishes to shake the water out of his ear. A native has given me a somewhat grisly explanation. An *emi tataru*, i.e. one who has been done to death with the terrible *emi* or disk club, will, in his immaterial *diroga* form, be continually jerking his head to one side to clear away the blood which is clogging his ears. There is a tale, as pathetic as it is gruesome, of a lad who left his sweetheart to go with his fathers and

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

brothers on a raid, telling her to wait for his home-coming, when he would marry her. In due time he came back to the girl's house, far ahead of the others, to tell her that the raiders had been victorious and to take her away to his home. As they set off he bade her go in front, but looking over her shoulder the girl saw him jerking his head and stamping his foot, and finally noticed a trickle of blood from his ear. At that she became alarmed, left her husband on the track, and ran back to the village where she found the raiders bringing in his corpse. Real *diroga* jerk their heads, so should not *Diroga* men do the same?

The dance of the *Diroga* men has already been described (p. 20). With its swift advance and retreat, its dodging and sallying, and its truculent, threatening air, the performance seems to reproduce the attack of the fierce Orokaiva warrior. No native has offered an explanation, but it seems that the warlike nature of the dance is supposedly due to the possession of the dancers by warrior spirits.

The spears have become an emblem of the *Diroga* cult. Many, if not all of them, are found to bear personal names—the names in fact of the actual *diroga* which possess their owners. They are in fact symbols of the dead warriors. It is said, indeed, that 'the spears are men'. This makes clear the practice of gripping or stroking the spear-point. The universal hand-shaking of Taro men has been referred to. With *Diroga* men it is customary to touch their spear-points as well as to shake them by the hand: this, I am told, is a salutation to the *diroga* which is symbolized by the spear. If a man neglect this observance he may fall sick, because he has offended the *diroga*.

It has been said that the profession of curing is more pronounced among the *Diroga* men than among the ordinary followers of the Taro cult. The methods are, however, the same as those previously described, with special emphasis on the use of the spear (p. 60). With

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

666
533
516
787

Standing	Chorus .	. *Ba iso naw* (repeated several times).
Sitting	Solo .	. *Kekesi lolo na ba iso naw.*
Sitting	Chorus .	. *Iri-e! Iri-e! Iri-e! Ta ba Iri-e!*
Kneeling	Solo (slowly) .	*Koi ba Kekesi ba iu ba na Iukunawai oki to.*
Standing	Chorus .	. *Iro-e! Iro-e! Iro-e!*
Kneeling (hands clasped and eyes closed)	Chorus .	. *Hallikusi! Hallibate! Hallikusi!*
Standing (with drums)	Chorus .	. *Manamba da ko-e* *Kekesi da manamba da ko-e* *Kesi da manamba da ko-e* *Kekesi da manamba da ko-e.*
Kneeling (as above)	Chorus .	. *Hallikusi! Hallibate! Hallikusi!*
Standing (with drums)	Chorus .	. *Taba da manambi ko-e* *Ouivi da manambi ko-e* *Godara da manambi ko-e.*

(Thus recite all names of taro in turn.)

669
787

Kesi is the name of the steamer in which I travel from place to place. And the songs I am giving you must be sung regularly by all the people, otherwise trouble will come to you. The vitality of your food supply depends upon the manner in which you obey my desires. When going to and from the gardens the people are not to straggle along, but to fall in, similar to the police working for the Government. The following commands may be given to the people whilst working in the garden or coming to and from the same:—*A kush! A sha! A shun man! A shun be! A hon de shen! A som!* These commands are to be issued by the man Yavevi.' This is all that was said to me on that occasion, and the two Spirits left me. Shortly afterwards Kekesi came by himself, and, in a different manner to his previous speaking, said the following:—'Wak kaise Dasiga kerere. Wai kaise Dasiga kerere! Kekesi Boinumbai kononini tai vavini koninino ato bos Kesi Jesu Kerisa ked kom turn bush etai taba kai sol manau giama vavini slem bush Jesu Kerisa Kekesi dugus igit goot dugus goot vork work gardini finati giama Dasiga nart Mamau soro smo Government Missionary all same Kekesi met Missionary taro simo.'[1] Kekesi's speech was not in the Binandere language. I understood it, and it means that one boy had stolen his brother's wife, and that Kekesi was very angry with him and desired me to tell him so. The man's name is Dasiga. Kekesi has not visited me since."

[241]

[1] This conversation appears to be an indiscriminate mixture of New Guinea words of various districts and of many words that are unknown, but are obviously inventions of Iko, as I proved when two days after taking them down phonetically I asked Iko to repeat to me the teachings and conversation of Kekesi. He pleaded "bad memory."